失败的帝国

从斯大林到戈尔巴乔夫

A FAILED EMPIRE

The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev

［美］弗拉季斯拉夫·祖博克 Vladislav M. Zubok 著
李晓江 译

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[illegible]·[illegible]Yuri Slezkine[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Alexander Scherbakov[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible][[illegible]·[illegible]Curtis Le May[illegible]·[illegible]George Patton[illegible]][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][引]

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[illegible]1945[illegible]7[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]7[illegible]17[illegible]8[illegible]2[illegible]

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1945[illegible]8[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]Yuli Khariton[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][引][illegible]·[illegible]Alexander Werth[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][引]

1945[illegible]8[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]20[illegible]30[illegible]·[illegible]Dmitry Ustinov[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Boris Vannikov[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][引]

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115. 1944□10□17[illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible]·[illegible]"100□'[illegible]'[illegible]"[illegible]"15[illegible]"[illegible]4500[illegible]Volokitina et al.□Vostochnaia Evropa□1□83-84□NKVD i polskoie podpolye□41-42□Bordyugov et al.□1□SSSR-Polsha[illegible]1945□3□21[illegible]GARF□f.9401□op.2□d.94□L122-26□Volokitina et al.□Vostochnaia Evropa□1□72□

116. Hazard□Cold War Crucible□29□69.74[illegible]Susaikov[illegible]1945□3□6[illegible]AVPRF□f.07□op.10□pap.24□d.335□1.32-33[illegible]T.V.Volokitina et al.□Tri vizita Vishinskogo v Bukharest□86-92□94-96□98-100□112-13□107□123□

117. Dimitrov□Diary□352-53□"Notes of V.Kolarov from a meeting with J.Stalin□"CSA□f.147B□op.2□d.1025□1.1-6□collection of CWIHP□Volokitina el al.□Vostochnaia Evropa□1□128-29.

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131. [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Viktor A.Makhnev[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Petr L.Kapitsa[illegible]PGU□□Kochariantsand Gorin□Stranitsi Lstorii iadernogo Isentra“Arzamas-16”□13-14.

132. □□Alperovitz□Atomic Diplomacy□

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][引][illegible]1945[illegible]1946[illegible]26600[illegible]8000[illegible]1949[illegible]38500[illegible][引]1947[illegible]1[illegible][引][illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]20[illegible]20[illegible]·[illegible]Mikhail Kalinin[illegible]·[illegible]Andrei Andreev[illegible]1946[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

1948[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1948[illegible]5[illegible]20[illegible]70[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]Ekaterina[illegible]·[illegible]Golda Gorbman[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]JAFC[illegible]·[illegible]Solomon Mikhoels[illegible]·[illegible]Polina Zhemchuzhina[illegible]1948[illegible]1[illegible]MGB[illegible]1948[illegible]1949[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Alexander Poskrebyshev[illegible]引[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]引

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1947[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1948[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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1946[illegible]7[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1946[illegible]7[illegible]29[illegible]10[illegible]5[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Semen Alexandrov[illegible][引]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Konstantin Simonov[illegible]1941[illegible]1942[illegible]1946[illegible]——[illegible]1946[illegible][引]

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59. 1920□1921□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Shah Reza□□Jacobson□When ihe Soviet Union Enrered World Politics□63-67□Chaqueri□Soviet Socialist Republic of Iran□426-29□442-47□Abrahamian□lran between Two Revolutions□210□218□236-37·□□□□□□□□□□□□□Jakov Drabkin□et al.□eds.□Komintern i ideia mirovoi revoliutsii.Dokumnenti□Moscow□Nauka□1998□□215-16

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81. □□□□1945□9□19□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□……□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□Zubok and Pleshakov□Inside the Kremlin's Cold War□97□

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108. 1953□5□8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“O dalneishih merakh sovetskogo pravitelstva po germanskomu voprosu□”AVPRF□f.06□op.12□pap.16□d.259□I.39-46□

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112. Mikoyan□Tak bylo□584□1953□7□1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□APRF□f.3□op.24□d.463□1.165□□□□Isiochnik 4□1994□□5□□Naumov and Sigachev□Laiventii Beria□73□□□□□□□□□□□CWIHP Bulletin□1□no.10□March1998□□99□

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114. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□‘□□□□□’□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Semjonow□Vom

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102. □□□□1957□1□24□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□"Emerging Disputes between Beijing and Moscow□"153-54□□□□□□□□1963□7□5□20□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□SAPMO-BArch□JIV2/207698□S."75□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□"□□□□□□"□□□□□□□"□□□□□"□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Chen Jian□Mao's China and the Cold War□158-62.

103. □□□□□1957□6□□□□□□□□□□□□□Kovaleva et al.□Molotov□Malenkov□Kaganovich□131□

104. Kovaleva et al.□Molotov□Kaganovich□Malenkov□128□Pravda□November19 and 23□1956□□□□□1962□5□16□□□□□□Varna□□□□□□□□Istochnik 6□2003□□136□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Granville□"Tito and the'Nagy Affair□'"23-57□Rainer□Nagy Imre□2□347□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Tischler□"Poland's October and the1956 Hungarian Revolution"□

105. 1957□5□3□□□□□·□□□□Antonina Peterson□□□□□□□1957□1□25□□□□M.□□□□□M. Petrygin□□□□□□□1957□1□30□P.□□□□□□P. Nesterov□□□□□□□□□RGANI□f.5□op.30□d.189□1.1-6□29-30□□d.190□1.142-62□

106. Mikoyan□Tak bylo□599□602.

107. "Posledniaia'antipartiinaia'gruppa.Stenograficheskii otchet iiunskogo□1957□plenuma TsK KPSS□"Istoricheskii arkhiv 3□4□5□6□1993□□1□2□1994□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Kovaleva et al.□Molotov□Malenkov□Kaganovich□

108. Istoricheskii arkhiv 3□1993□□74-75.

109. Istoricheskii arkhiv 4□1993□□27□29.

110. Istoricheskii arkhiv 3□1993□□79.

111. □□□□□□□□□□□Mikoyan□Tak Bylo□604□

112. Naumov et al.□Georgii Zhukov□297□425□Fursenko et al.□PresidiumTsK KPSS□1□252□263-64□□□1011-1012□□□□□Dobrynin□In Confidence□37-38□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Taubman□Khrushchev□314□

113. Naumov et al.□Georgii Zhukov□379.

114. Zubok□“Soviet Intelligence and the Cold War□”453-72.

115. Troyanovsky□“Making of Soviet Foreign Policy□”216.

[illegible]1953[illegible]1963

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of Foxtrots□

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2. [illegible]——[illegible]20[illegible]60[illegible]1968[illegible]1969[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Hanhimaki[illegible]Flawed Architect[illegible]Isaacson[illegible]Kissinger[illegible]Baring[illegible]Machtwechsel[illegible]Haftendorn[illegible]Security and Détnete[illegible]Nelson[illegible]Making of Détnete[illegible]
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20. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□Fedor Mochulsky□□□□□□□□□□□1992□6□20□□Elizavetin□“Peregovori Kosygina i Chou Eniaia v Pekinskom Aeroportu□”54□Bovin□XX vek kak zhizn□131-32□Kamow□Vietnam□427□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Gaiduk□Confronting Vietnam□□□Olsen□“Changing Alliarrces”□

21. □□□□□□□Logevall□Choosing War□

22. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Kholodnaia voina□123□

23. Dobrynin□Sugubo doveritelno□127□□□□·□□□□□□Igor Ognetov□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ “Tonkinskii intsidenti Sovetskaia pomosch Vietnamu□”97-98□FRUS□1964-68□14□233-59□

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4. Voronkov[illegible]“Sobitiia 1980-1981 v Polshe[illegible]”109.
5. [illegible]1981[illegible]4[illegible]2[illegible]Kramer[illegible]“Soviet Deliberations during the Polish Crisis[illegible]”24-34[illegible]100-101[illegible]
6. Dobrynin[illegible]In Confidence[illegible]500.
7. [illegible]Jachranka[illegible]
8. Leonov[illegible]Lilcholetie[illegible]212[illegible]Pavlov[illegible]Bylem rezydentem KCB w Polsce[illegible]28[illegible]Voronkov[illegible]“Sobitiia 1980-1981 v Polshe[illegible]”98[illegible]
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10. Kania[illegible]Zatrzymac konfrontacje[illegible]91[illegible]Mastny[illegible]“Soviet Non-Invasion ofPoland[illegible]”15[illegible]Voronkov[illegible]“Sobitiia 1980-1981 v Polshe”[illegible]
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12. Voronkov[illegible]“Sobitiia 1980-1981 v Polshe[illegible]”106.
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14. [illegible]Voronkov[illegible]“Sobitiia 1980-1981 v Polshe[illegible]”107.
15. Ibid.[illegible]113.
16. [illegible]1981[illegible]8[illegible]10[illegible]NSArch[illegible]
17. Shubin[illegible]Istoki Perestroiki[illegible]1[illegible]63[illegible]Gorbachev[illegible]“Andropov[illegible]”24[illegible]Pikhoia[illegible]Sovetskii Soiuz[illegible]414.
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19. [illegible]1980[illegible]2[illegible]9[illegible]3[illegible]1[illegible]NSArch[illegible]
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21. □□□□□□□1981□12□10□□NSArch□Voronkov□“Sobitiia1980-1981 v Polshe□” 119□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Kramer□“Soviet Deliberations during thePolish Crisis□”160-61□□□□□“Jaruzelski□the Soviet Union□and the Imposition of Martial Law in Poland□”5-39□

22. □□□□□□□□□□□1981□12□10□□□□Kramer□“SovietDeliberations during the Polish Crisis□”165□Volkogonov□Sem Vozhdei□2□99-101□Leonov□Likholetie□212□

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25. □□□□□□□□□□□Thatcher□Downing Street Years□253□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Kramer□“Colonel Kuklinski and the Polish Crisis□”48-59□

26. Schweizer□Wciory□□□Schweizer□Reagan's War□Weinberger□In the Arena□

27. Pravda□April 23□1982□□□Garthoff□Great Transition□62□

28. Andrew and Gordievsky□Comrade Kryuchkov's Conundrum□67□69□□□□RYAN□□□□□□□□□□Fischer□Cold War Conundrum□4-5□Akhromeyev and Kornienko□Glazami Marshala i Diplomata. Kriticheskii Vzgliad na Vneshniuiu Politiku SSSR do i posle 1985 goda□14□Dobrynin□In Confidence□522□

29. Dobrynin□In Confidence□482□Pravda□June 16□1982□and July 12□1982□Ustinov□Otvesti ugrozu iadernoi voini□7□Garthoff□Great Transition□56□17.

30. Fischer□Cold War Conundrum□9-10□□□□□□·□□□□□□Vladimir Slipchenko□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Andrew and Gordievsky□Comrade Kryuchkov’s Instructions□69-85□

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32. Velikhov□“Nauka rabotaet na bezyadrnii mir□”50-51□Sagdeev□Making of a Soviet Scientist□261-62□273□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Akhromeyev and Kornienko□Glazami Marshala i Diplomata□19-20□Evangelista□Unarmeci Forces□238-42□

33. Gorbachev□“Andropov□”18□25□□□Volkogonov□Sem Vozhdei□2□139-43.

34. Pechenev□Gorbachev□k vershinam vlasti□54□Akhromeyev and Kornienko□Glazami Marshala i Diplomata□32-33□□□□□□□□□□□□□Volkogonov□Sem Vozhdei□2□143□

35. □□□□□□□□□□□1983□7□11□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1983□8□27□□Executive Secretariat NSC□Head of the State file□USSR□Andropov□box38□RRPL□Alexandrov-Agentov□Ot Kollontai□282-83□Dobrynin□In Confidence□523□530-32□

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143. Potemkin villages□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□——□□□

144. □□·□□□·□□□□·□□□□Sven Olof Joachim Palme□1927□1986□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1969□1976□1982□1986□□1980□9□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□“□□□□□□”□——□□□

145. “□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs□□□□□□·□□□□□□Joseph Rotblat□□□□□·□□□Bertrand Russell□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1957□7□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

146. strategic sufficiency□□□□□□□□20□□70□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□□——□□□

147. “□□□□”□zero option□□□□□1981□11□18□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Ⅱ□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□SS-4□SS-5□SS-20□□□——□□□

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[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Vadim Medvedev[illegible]·[illegible]Andrei Grachev[illegible]引[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]引

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6. Boldin□Krusheniie pedestala□Ligachev□Zagadka Gorbacheva□Vorotnikov□A bylo eto tak□Ryzhkov□Desiat let velikikh potraysenii□Ryzhkov□Perestroika□Kryuchkov□Lichnoie delo□Leonov□Likholetie□Medvedev□Chelovek za spinoi□Shenin□Rodinu ne prodaval□Akhromeyev and Kornienko□Glazami marshala i diplomata□Kornienko□Kholodnaia voina□Falin□Politische Erinnerungen□Pechenev□Gorbachev□Pechenev□Vzlet ipadeniie Gorbacheva□Gromyko□Andrei Gromyko v labirintakh Kremlia□Yeltsin□Ispoved na zadannuiu temu□Dobrynin□In Confidence□□□□□□Sugubo doveitelno□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□OHPECW□
7. Chemyaev□“Fenomen Gorbacheva V kontekste liderstva”□□□□□Shest Let's Gorbachevim□□1991 god□Shakhnazarov□Tsena Svobody□Medvedev□V homande Gorbacheva□Medvedev□Raspad□Yakovlev□Predisloviie□obval□posleslovie□Shevardnadze□Moi vybor v zaschitudemokratii i svobody□Grachev□Dalshe bez menya□Grachev□Kremlevskaiakhronika□Palazhchenko□My Years with Gorbachev and Shevardnadze□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Tannenwald□Understanding the End of the Cold War and “End of the Cold War in Europe”□
8. Brutents□Nesbyvsheesia□651.
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17. [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]20[illegible]80[illegible]1978[illegible]

18. Gates[illegible]From the Shadows[illegible]385-88[illegible]439[illegible]Shultz[illegible]Turmoil and Triumph[illegible]765[illegible]Bush and Scowcroft[illegible]World Transformed[illegible]Garthoff[illegible]Great Transition.

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24. [illegible]·[illegible]Geoffrey Howe[illegible]Strober and Strober[illegible]Reagan[illegible]327[illegible]

25. Furman[illegible]“Fenomen Gorbacheva[illegible]”71.

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30. Kozlova[illegible]Gorizonti povsednevnosti Sovetskoi epokhi.

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32. Shakhnazarov[illegible]Tsena Svobody[illegible]47[illegible]Furman[illegible]“Fenomen Gorbacheva[illegible]”66[illegible]1985[illegible]1988[illegible]·[illegible]Vladimir Shemyatenkov[illegible]·[illegible]1998[illegible]11[illegible]18[illegible]OHPECW[illegible]

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38. Chemyaev□“Fenomen Gorbacheva v kontekste liderstva□”56[illegible]Shest Let s Gorbachevim□241□343□

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64. □□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□1998□12□17□□OHPECW□

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71. □□□□·□□·□□□□□□□□□1989□3□23□□□□□□□□□□□□NSArch□

72. □□□1999□4□8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1989□□Levesque□Enigma of 1989□125□

73. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Meine letzte Mission□168-69□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Musgrove I□transcript□98□

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1949 年苏联的冷战漫画。正在鼓吹成立北约、看上去像是哈里 · 杜鲁门和温斯顿 · 丘吉尔的，实际上是令人毛骨悚然的五角大楼战争贩子假扮的。（照片由莫斯科俄罗斯联邦总统档案馆提供）

1949-1950 年的某个时候，约瑟夫·斯大林与未来会反叛他的尼基塔·赫鲁晓夫在列宁陵墓。（照片由莫斯科俄罗斯联邦总统档案馆提供）

1954 年，赫鲁晓夫正在前往克里姆林宫工作，走在他身边的是格奥尔吉·马林科夫和阿纳斯塔斯·米高扬。（照片由莫斯科俄罗斯联邦总统档案馆提供）

拿着武器的危险的赫鲁晓夫。喜欢核边缘政策的赫鲁晓夫也喜欢打鸭子。（照片由莫斯科俄罗斯联邦总统档案馆提供）

超级大国的英雄们。在 1961 年 4 月的一次招待会上，苏联的首位宇航员尤里 · 加加林（左）与总司令赫鲁晓夫在一起。从左到右依次是：国防部长罗季翁 · 马林诺夫斯基元帅（被加加林挡住了）、安德烈 · 格列奇科元帅、赫鲁晓夫、总参谋长马特维 · 扎哈罗夫元帅、战略火箭部队司令基里尔 · 莫斯卡连科（Kirill Moskalenko）、瓦西里 · 索科洛夫斯基元帅（？）和莫斯科防空司令帕维尔 · 巴季茨基（Pavel Batitsky）。（照片由莫斯科俄罗斯联邦总统档案馆提供）

和平之旅？赫鲁晓夫标榜自己是“和平斗士”，但却因核边缘政策这一笨招而出了名。（由莫斯科俄罗斯联邦总统档案馆提供）

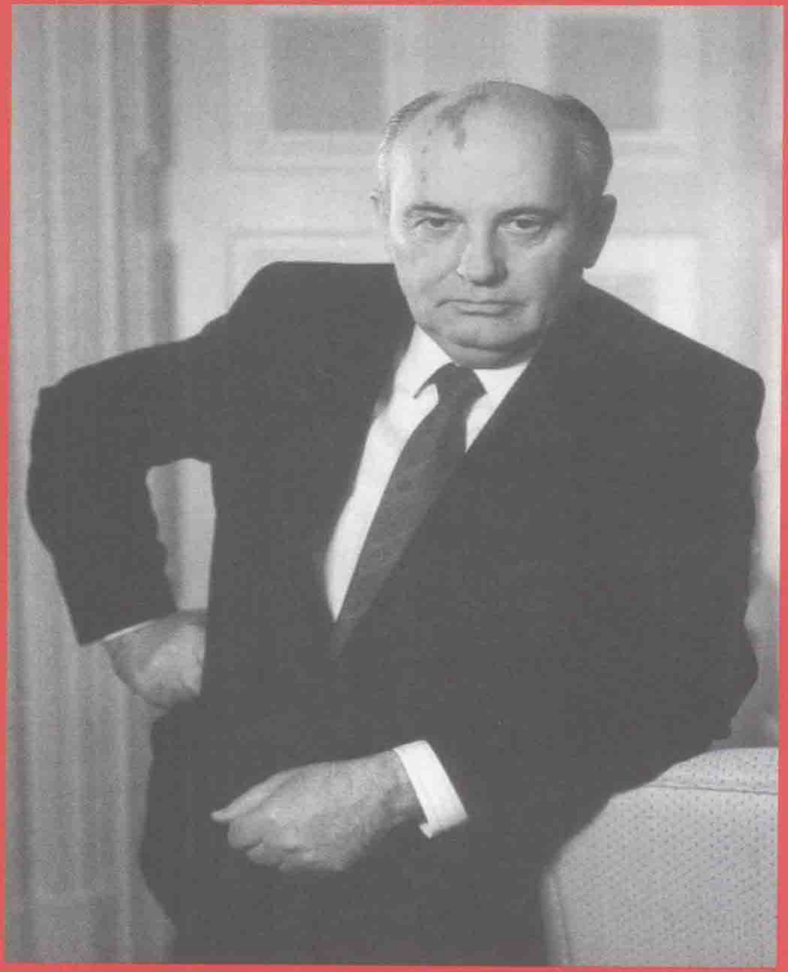
1945 年 6 月 24 日，列昂尼德·勃列日涅夫参加了红场的胜利阅兵，后来还出席了斯大林的宴会。二十年后，已是苏共总书记的他仍然对作为战争领袖的斯大林非常敬佩。（照片由莫斯科俄罗斯联邦总统档案馆提供）

勃列日涅夫曾经说过，“亲和力在政治上对一个人是有很大帮助的。” 只要健康状况许可，这一点他始终利用得很好。（照片由莫斯科俄罗斯联邦总统档案馆提供）

1969 年，抗议者在谴责曾经是苏联“永远的朋友”的“中国侵略者”。这一代苏联人对斯大林和赫鲁晓夫先是欢呼认可，继而公开谴责。（照片由莫斯科俄罗斯联邦总统档案馆提供）

“缓和”即“放松”。1971年，勃列日涅夫与西德国务秘书埃贡·巴尔在俄罗斯扎维多沃的一次轻松的打猎之后。（照片由莫斯科俄罗斯联邦总统档案馆提供）

老近卫军的退场。1981 年前后，米哈伊尔·戈尔巴乔夫与政治局的“老人们”在莫斯科火车站。前排从左到右依次是：戈尔巴乔夫、安德烈·葛罗米柯、尼古拉·吉洪诺夫、列昂尼德·勃列日涅夫、米哈伊尔·苏斯洛夫、康斯坦丁·契尔年科、尤里·安德罗波夫、鲍里斯·波诺马廖夫以及勃列日涅夫的女婿尤里·丘巴诺夫。在勃列日涅夫身后的是德米特里·乌斯季诺夫和维克托·格里申。（照片由莫斯科俄罗斯联邦总统档案馆提供）



1991 年底，阴郁的戈尔巴乔夫。在高调承诺改革六年之后，苏维埃“帝国”在他的领导下解体了。（照片由莫斯科俄罗斯联邦总统档案馆提供）

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在这本受到广泛好评的书中，弗拉季斯拉夫·祖博克认为，西方有关冷战的阐释，错在要么夸大了克里姆林宫的实用主义倾向，要么夸大了它的侵略性。通过说明克里姆林宫领导人和苏联精英们的利益、抱负、幻想、恐惧以及误解，祖博克对这个20世纪最大的僵局提供了一种东方的观察。

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